

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 OIC-04 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
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P R 120916 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8820

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 424

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3957

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, 10 MAY

1. SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP HEARD REPORTS ON BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS FROM WEST GERMAN RECEPTION ON 9 MAY, CONSIDERED FURTHER HOW TO DEAL WITH ROMANIAN DESIRE, TRANSMITTED THROUGH US REP, TO MAKE A SEPARATE PRESENTATION DURING THE PLENARY DISCUSSION OF AGENDA, AND DISCUSSED DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PLENARY SESSIONS. THE GROUP ALSO CONSIDERED TURKISH, NORWEGIAN, AND BELGIAN REVISED OPENING STATEMENTS (SEPTTEL) AND THE FINAL REVISE OF THE PRESS BACKGROUNDER TO FOLLOW THE FIRST PLENARY (SEPTTEL). END SUMMARY.

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2. BILATERALS. THE UK REP (THOMSON) REPORTED ON A DISCUSSION DURING THE WEST GERMAN RECEPTION ON 9 MAY WITH KHLESTOV. KHLESTOV HAD WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER THE 2 1/2 HOUR CONVERSATION THAT HE HAD HELD WITH THOMSON ON 5 MAY HAD MADE ANY DIFFERENCE IN THE BRITISH DECI-

SION TO GO ALONG WITH THE FINAL PACKAGE. THOMSON SAID THAT HE HAD FIRST HINTED TO KHLESTOV THAT THE CONVERSATION HAD INDEED HELPED HIM EXPLAIN THE SITUATION TO LONDON. KHLESTOV REPORTEDLY WAS PLEASED WITH THIS RESPONSE. THOMSON, HOWEVER, SAID THAT HE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN TO KHLESTOV THAT CERTAIN POINTS IN KHLESTOV'S ARGUMENTATION HAD BEEN MORE HELPFUL THAN OTHERS. FOR EXAMPLE, THOMSON TOLD KHLESTOV THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE TALKS BE WRAPPED UP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THOMSON ALSO TOLD KHLESTOV THAT BECAUSE THE SOVIETS CONSIDERED THE PARTICIPATION PROBLEM OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE, THE WEST WOULD NOW EXPECT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT RAISE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES OVER OTHER POINTS. THOMSON SAID THAT KHLESTOV HAD BEEN NONCOMMITAL ABOUT THESE LATTER POINTS. KHLESTOV ALSO MADE A PATCH TO THOMSON ON BEHALF OF VIENNA AS THE SITE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. THE US REP REPORTED ON A CONVERSATION AT THE RECEPTION WITH THE ROMANIAN REP (CONSTANTINESCU) IN WHICH CONSTANTINESCU HAD EXPANDED ON CONVERSATION WITH US REP OF PREVIOUS WEEK AND ADDED SOME NEW POINTS. CONSTANTINESCU HAD MADE THREE MAIN POINTS: 1) ROMANIA OBJECTS TO FOLLOWING ALPHABETICAL ORDERING IN THE PRESENTATION OF OPENING STATEMENTS; 2) ROMANIA OBJECTS TO A SINGLE EASTERN AGENDA STATEMENT ON THE GROUNDS THAT NO ONE CAN SPEAK FOR ROMANIA; AND 3) THE WORD OUT AMONG THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS IS THAT THE WEST INTENDS TO RAISE HUNGARY ONLY IN A PRO FORMA FASHION DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. ON THE FIRST POINT, THE US REP THOUGHT ON BASIS OF LONG DISCUSSION OF THE MARGINAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FOLLOWING THE SEATING ORDER IN MAKING OPENING STATEMENTS OR OF USING THE INSCRIPTION METHOD, THAT CONSTANTINESCU WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT PRESS HIS CASE. THE UK REP (THOMSON) AGREED. REGARDING THE SECOND POINT, THE US REP HAD SUGGESTED TO CONSTANTINESCU THAT HE SHOULD EITHER ENSURE THAT ROMANIA'S SUBSTANTIVE DESIRES WERE INCORPORATED IN THE EASTERN AGENDA STATEMENT OR INCLUDE THEM IN HIS OPENING REMARKS; ADDRESS THE SESSION IF HE SO DESIRED TO SAY THAT HE AGREED WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, OR MAKE A BRIEF STATEMENT OF HIS OWN WAY THAT WOULD NOT UNDULY UPSET THE PROCEEDINGS. ON THE THIRD POINT, THE US REP SAID THAT
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THE WEST INTENDED TO RAISE AND PRESS THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION FULLY AT APPROPRIATE TIMES DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SUGGESTED TO AD HOC GROUP THAT IT WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE FOR EAST- WEST RELATIONS TO ASSIST SOVIETS IN REGIMENTING ROMANIANS AND THAT THE WEST SHOULD TOLERATE ROMANIAN STATEMENT ON AGENDA IF ROMANIANS WISHED TO MAKE ONE.

4. ROMANIAN PROBLEM. THE US REP'S REPORT LED INTO A BROADER DISCUSSION OF THE ROMANIAN DESIDERATA AND THE TACTICS THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD ADOPT. THE UK REP SAID THAT HE TOO HAD HAD A CONVERSATION WITH CONSTANTINESCU AND THAT HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS NOT ADAMANT. THOMSON SUGGESTED THAT IT BE LEFT TO ROMANIA'S EASTERN COLLEAGUES TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM. THOMSON TOLD THE AD HOC GROUP THAT THE UK WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE ROMANIANS' MAKING

A SHORT STATEMENT ON THE AGENDA, BUT THINKS THAT THE EASTERN STATES WILL TALK THEM OUT OF IT. US REP NOTED THAT CONSTANTINESCU DOES HAVE A PROBLEM IN THAT HE HAS INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO LET OTHER SPEAK ON BEHALF OF ROMANIA. US REP CONTINUED THAT IN ANY CASE THE ROMANIAN COMMENTS WOULD PROBABLY PERTAIN MAINLY TO THE EASTERN AGENDA PRESENTATION BECAUSE THE ROMANIANS WOULD NOT HAVE SEEN THE WESTERN STATEMENT IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING. THE UK REP ADDED THAT THE ROMANIANS COULD ALSO USE THEIR OPENING STATEMENT AS AN OUTLET FOR THEIR IDEAS.

5. ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) SAID THAT HE SAW NO DISADVANTAGE FOR THE WEST IF THE ROMANIANS SHOULD MAKE A STATEMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE WEST MIGHT EVEN ENCOURAGE THE ROMANIANS TO MAKE A LITTLE TROUBLE TO REVEAL A SPLIT IN THE OTHER CAMP. THE FRG REP (RUTH) POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT AT LEAST FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS PURPOSES, DIVERGENCES IN THE EASTERN APPROACH WOULD ONLY BE REVEALED IN OPENING STATEMENTS-- WHICH WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC-- AND NOT NECESSARILY IN THE PLENARY AGENDA DISCUSSION WHERE THE PROCEEDINGS ARE INTENDED TO BE RESTRICTED. RUGH CONTINUED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE AGENDA DISCUSSION WOULD BE TO GET DOWN TO BUSINESS, NOT TO MAKE A PLAY TO THE PUBLIC.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01

RSR-01 OIC-04 /155 W

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P R 120916 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8821

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MBFR CAPITALS 425

USMISSION GENEVA

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6. THE UK AND BELGIAN (ADRIAENSSEN) REPS BOTH NOTED EMPATHY WITH THE ITALINA ARGUMENT, BUT THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE BEST IN THESE

CIRCUMSTANCES IF THE ROMANIANS SAID NOTHING. TH ITALINA DEP REP RESPONDED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO HARM IN A ROMANIAN STATEMENT WHICH THE WEST COULD JUST IGNORE. HE SAID THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS CONSPIRING WITH THE SOVIETS TO SHUT UP THE ROMANIANS. THE FRG REP INDICATED SYMPATHY FOR THIS LINE OF ARGUMENTATION, BUT NOTED THAT SHOULD THE ROMANIANS BEGIN TALKING ABOUT A EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM, NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, ABOLITION OF ALLIANCES, AND REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS, THE WESTERN ALLIES WOULD NOT BE TOO PLEASED. THE ITALIAN REP COUNTERED THAT THE ROMANIANS MIGHT REPEAT THESE FAVORITE THEMES IN THEIR OPENING STATEMENT BUT THAT IN A PLENARY PRESENTATION ON AGENDA, THEY MIGHT MAKE SOME COMMENTS -- FOR EXAMPLE FAVORING CONSTRAINTS ON TROOP MOVEMENTS -- WHICH THE WEST MIGHT LIKE. THE GREEK REP (SEKERIS), HOWEVER, WARNED THAT THE ROMANIANS SHOULD NOT BE ABLE
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TO CLAIM THE POSITION OF MODERATOR BETWEEN THE TWO CAMPS. A DISTINCT ROLE FOR THEIR SPOKESMAN AT THIS TIME COULD ENCOURAGE THEM ALONG THESE LINES. THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE), SCHEDULED TO BE CHAIRMAN THE DAY OF THE PLENARY AGENDA PRESENTATIONS, SAID THAT HE WOULD PREFER THAT THE ROMANIANS MAKE NO STATEMENT AND THAT THE WEST SHOULD LET THE SOVIETS COPE WITH THE PROBLEM. US REP REPEATED HIS SUGGESTION AT OUTSET OF DISCUSSION THAT ALLIES NOT RAISE OBJECTIONS IF ROMANIANS WISHED TO SPEAK ON AGENDA.

7. THE BROAD GROUP CONSENSUS ON THE ROMANIAN QUESTION WAS THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE OR ENCOURAGE THE ROMANIANS. THE WEST WOULD LIVE WITH A SHORT ROMANIAN PRESENTATION, BUT IT APPEARS FOR THE MEMENT THAT THEY WILL HAVE A HARD TIME CONVINCING THE SOVIETS AND THE OTHER PACT STATES TO LET THEM HAVE STAGE CENTER.

8. PLENARY SCENARIO. THE GROUP THEN MOVED TO A DISCUSSION OF DETAILED PLENARY ARRANGEMENTS, PROMPTED PARTICULARLY BY A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE UK REP WHO, AS THE RESULT OF THE DRAWING CONDUCTED DURING THE WEST GERMAN RECEPTION ON MAY 9, WILL CHAIR THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION. REGARDING THE FIRST PLENARY, THE GROUP AGREED ON OR RECALLED FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST, THE FOLLOWING DETAILS: THE CHAIRMAN WILL OPEN AND CLOSE THE MEETING, RECOGNIZE SPEAKERS WITHOUT CALLING THEM BY NAME, AND HANDLE THE RECORDING AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE RECORD OF THE FIRST SESSION; THE CHAIRMAN WILL CONDUCT THE MEETING FROM HIS NATIONAL SEATING LOCATION; THE DELEGATES WILL SPEAK FROM THEIR SEATS; THE PRESS COULD BE LET IN TO TAKE PICTURES AFTER ALL DELEGATES ARE SEATED BUT BEFORE ANY FORMAL PROCEEDINGS; THE NETHERLANDS REP WILL DELIVER THE WESTERN STATEMENTS ON HUNGARY AND ON CARRY OVER; THE CHAIRMAN WILL DISTRIBUTE THE AGREED RECORD TO THE DELEGATIONS AT THE END OF THE MEETING; THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND THE RECORD WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS AT THE HOFBURG PRESS CENTER FOLLOWING THE PLENARY. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET AGREED TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RECORD IN THE PRESS CENTER BUT THEY PROBABLY WILL NOT OBJECT. THE WESTERN PRESS WILL GET COPIES OF THE RECORD DUR-

ING THE PRESS BACKGROUNDER AT THE WEST GERMAN EMBASSY, BUT IF THE RECORD IS NOT DISTRIBUTED AT THE PRESS CENTER, CERTAIN NEWSMEN FROM NEUTRAL COUNTRIES MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO GET COPIES EASILY.

9. WITH REGARD TO THE PRESENTATION OF OPENING STATEMENTS IN THE
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PLENARIES SCHEDULED FOR 15 AND 16 MAY, THE GROUP AGREED THAT APPROXIMATELY HALF OF THE STATEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE ON THE FIRST DAY. IF FEWER WERE MADE, THE SECOND DAY COULD BE LONG BECAUSE THE ROMANIAN STATEMENT WILL ACCORDING TO ADVANCE ANNOUNCEMENT BE QUITE LENGTHY. EACH DELEGATION WILL CIRCULATE COPIES OF ITS STATEMENT TO OTHER DELEGATIONS AFTER IT WAS BEEN DELIVERED. COPIES OF THE WESTERN STATEMENTS WILL BE PROVIDED TO THE PRESS THROUGH A WESTERN PRESS SPOKESMAN. IT WILL BE LEFT TO INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER AND HOW THEY WILL TRANSLATE THEIR STATEMENTS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES FOR PRESS PURPOSES. THE AUSTRIANS WILL BE APPROACHED TO SEE WHAT HELP THEY CAN PROVIDE IN TRANSLATION OF TEXTS.

10. THE US REP NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD NOT AGREED THAT THE PROJECTED JOINT STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST PLENARY THANKING THE AUSTRIANS FOR THEIR HELP WOULD SUFFICE AND HAD INDICATED THE EASTERN DELEGATES INTEND TO INCLUDE SUCH STATEMENTS IN THEIR OPENING REMARKS. THE US REP SUGGESTED THAT NATO DELEGATIONS SHOULD THEREFORE DO THE SAME DESPITE PAINFUL REPETITION. (SUCH REFERENCES HAD BEEN DELETED FROM MOST WESTERN STATEMENTS IN ANTICIPATION OF SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF A COMMON MESSAGE OF THANKS.) GROUP ADDITIONALLY REVIEWED PROPOSED DRAFT COMMUNIQUE FOR PLENARIES OF 15 AND 16 MAY. (TEXTS YET TO BE DISCUSSED WITH SOVIETS.)

11. THE UK REP AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF PRESS LEAKS. HE SAID THAT ON 9 MAY HE HAD RECEIVED A CALL FROM A REUTERS CORRESPONDENT WHO SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY "EASTERN SOURCES" THAT THE REMAINING PROBLEM HOLDING UP PLENARIES HAD BEEN THE EASTERN DESIRE TO ENLARGE THE NEGOTIATIONS TO INCLUDE OTHER STATES AND THAT THE UK HAD HELD UP FINAL AGREEMENT ON A COMPROMISE. THE CORRESPONDENT ALSO SAID THAT EASTERN SOURCES FOR SOME TIME HAVE BEEN DESCRIBING THE UK AS THE HARD LINER ON THE WESTERN SIDE. THE CHAIRMAN (QUARLES, NETHERLANDS) SAID THAT THIS INFORMATION COMBINED WITH OTHER REPORTS STRONGLY SUGGESTED THAT THE EASTERN SIDE HAS BEEN LEAKING INFORMATION TO THE PRESS.

12. GROUP ACTION ON TURKISH, NORWEGIAN, AND BELGIAN REVISED OPENING STATEMENTS AND ON PRESS BACKGROUNDER TEXT SENT SEPTELS.

13. NEXT AD HOC GROUP MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 1030 HOURS ON 11 MAY.
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USDOCOSOUTH

SALT TWO II

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